DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 139 891 UD 017 035

AUTHOR Willhelm, Sidney M.
TITLE The Demise of Black People in a White America: The Perpetuation of Economic Racism.
PUB DATE [77]
NOTE 33p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Bias; *Blacks; *Economic Factors; Educational Opportunities; Group Relations; Political Issues; *Race Relations; Racial Discrimination; *Racial Segregation; Social Isolation; *Socioeconomic Status; *Trend Analysis

ABSTRACT

This paper provides an assessment of socioeconomic and political trends during the 1970's. The data support those scholars who predicted that the the socioeconomic condition of blacks would deteriorate in the sixties and early seventies. Evidence shown indicates that a combination of racism and economics supports an educational system that is not only divided along racial lines but is economically debilitating for black education. Key economic indicators also portend serious difficulties for blacks. There is a resurgence of poverty stricken households among black families. The number of poor blacks increased by 600,000 between 1969 and 1972, while white poverty declined by 500,000. Housing for blacks continues to deteriorate, while the population density for blacks, unlike whites, worsened considerably during the 1960's. Black unemployment has risen throughout the nation. Official statistics show that the black rate still persists at twice the pace for whites. Another area of deterioration for black people is health. This composite summary gives evidence of the decline of the black living standard. It is suggested that the black minority in the U.S. is heading towards extermination by the white majority. (Author/AM)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Sidney M. Willhelm
TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER.

ED139891
UD017035

The Demise of Black People in a White America: The Perpetuation of Economic Racism

Sidney M. Willhelm
State University of New York at Buffalo

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Sidney M. Willhelm

The civil rights struggles that emerged during the 'fifties and blossomed so conspicuously in the 'sixties supposedly brought forth substantial social improvements and economic gains for America's Black minority;[1] when progress was not immediately apparent, the assurance was given that it would be "right around the corner." Most commentators on the racial scene present an American society which has acted vigorously to eliminate racism and to enhance equal opportunities regardless of race such that Blacks have already attained remarkable gains in important areas as housing, income, education, health, and employment. With few exceptions, the claim of inevitable racial progress persists as the dominant theme within the reports and surveys that assess contemporary Black-White relations in America.

A closer and more careful evaluation of the evidence, however, reveals just the opposite; the notion of progress itself cannot be sustained so as to demonstrate a lessening of White hostility toward Blacks. "In their optimism and eagerness to prove that assimilation could proceed rapidly--given laws against discrimination and vigorous enforcement of these laws," writes Lewis Killian, "sociologists have failed to take due and realistic account of the depth of white prejudice and the shortsightedness of white self-interest..."[2] Regardless of perspective, virtually all schools of thought among professional, orthodox sociologists have been racist by presenting interpretations that detect some specific quality among Blacks themselves rather than suggesting any responsibility among Whites.[3] As late as 1974, Norvel Glenn, summarizing "recent changes in the social and economic conditions of Black Americans," declared: "The failure of the white-nonwhite income gap to become smaller,

in spite of the modest closing of the occupation gap, was due to a general increase in income differences between highly educated workers and unskilled, poorly educated workers, among whom blacks remained disproportionately numerous."[4] An attribute about Black people--the lack of education--accounts for the spreading of the Black-White income gap; Blacks need only obtain the same skills, abilities, talents, and education of the White level for employment in the high-paying jobs. Furthermore, Glazer completely ignores any possibility for White racism.

Black Education

What can be said about the education of Blacks in this country? In 1960, 200,000 Blacks enrolled in colleges and universities; 65% attended "Black" colleges. Ten years later, in 1970, the enrollment doubled, reaching 470,000, and also shifted so that 66% attended "White" colleges.[5] Nonetheless, a study published in March, 1971 found "Blacks make up only 3 per cent of the enrollment at predominantly white colleges...' The impression has sometimes been created that colleges are over-committed to minorities,' said Frank Newman [author of the study]. 'Blacks [nonetheless] as a per cent of total enrollment are barely holding their own.'"[6]

If one takes the percentage of Blacks upon the formerly all-White campus as a mark for improvement, it would seem Blacks would thereby score a measure of educational attainment in 1970, however, modest, relative to 1960. This slight gain, however, generated not collegiate approval but rather animosities from the ivy halls and towers of the White academy. The academic response to the Black presence assumes the identical avenues of White retaliation found in the society at large: demands for economic reforms, which will reverse the Black enrollment, are now being made and, simultaneously, a

resurgence of manifest racism in the form of a scholarly theory, namely, the "I. Q. Argument." The Carnegie Foundation now insists upon doubling tuition, while the Committee for Economic Development, a powerful business organization, calls for the same.[7] It has been estimated that for every $100-increase in tuition, at least 2.5% of the enrolled students will have to stop going to college.[8] Undoubtedly, the higher tuition will result in reduced numbers for both White and Black, but, more significantly, the impact will be proportionately greater for Blacks inasmuch as more Black students come from lower-income families than do Whites. So that such proposals will not constitute economic discrimination against the qualified poor, the plans also call for more scholarships. While Blacks will be decisively affected by higher college costs, no student, Black or White, who performs well for the qualifying examinations will be denied admission since such persons will receive financial assistance through the scholarship program. Yet, it is simply catch-22 all over again for Black youths with a college ambition: What good is a scholarship program which tests intelligence for the purpose of compensating for economic hardships while all along academicians declare the inherent mental inferiority of Black-to-White according to the I. Q. Argument? If Blacks supposedly lack a genetic capacity to compete against Whites in taking intelligence tests, then it is rather pointless to claim that scholarships will be color-blind. We are being told, on the one hand, that anyone who is "college material" will secure funding through scholarships, and, on the other hand, scholars--the very ones composing the tests that must be passed--increasingly maintain the innate biological inferiority for Black people. It is a perfect set-up by Whites against Blacks with the usual White disclaimer that racism makes absolutely no contribution in what results.

Already, the administration of standardized tests reveals an ever-accelerating gap between the races with each increment in formal education;

as both Black and White students attain an additional grade level prior to high school graduation, standardized tests project greater disparity along racial lines. In 1965, the difference in the mean grade achievement level by race stood at 2.4; by the 12th grade, the figure expanded to 3.5.[9] The longer Blacks remain in school the less qualify they become according to the tests being administered for establishing educational accomplishments. Indeed, the Coleman Report found almost 85% of Black students scored below the White average.[10] By manipulating the economic costs so that getting a college education goes up during the 'seventies and, simultaneously, compelling poverty-striken students to compete for scholarships through written examinations, Blacks are destined to elimination. Why discriminate when one can eliminate? Such a conclusion becomes all the more inassailable when we realize, according to a four-year testing program administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, that, taking the fourth-grade reading level as the standard, 22.1% of all Blacks and 9.8% of all White youths between 12 and 17 years of age and whose families had incomes of less than $3,000 per year were illiterate.[11]

Supreme Court rulings in post-World War II America have not eliminated racial education, and recent decisions indicate it will fortify racial separation in education; a dual school system predicated upon race persists and continues to expand during the 1970s with full Court approval. Although the percentage of Black schoolchildren attending integrated classrooms increased from 18% to 38% within the South between 1969-1971, the figure remained constant at 27% for the North and West,[12] and no region of the country went beyond the halfway mark. By 1972--18 years after the famous Equality decision by the 1954 Supreme Court--"The percentage of minority group pupils in schools with enrollment more than half black...was," according to the Department of Health,

Education, and Welfare, "53.7 per cent for public schools in the 11 states of the old Confederacy. ~~The figure for Northern public schools in the 11 states of the old Confederacy~~. The figure for Northern public schools was 71.7 per cent and it was 68.2 per cent for the Border states and the District of Columbia."[13]

When a metropolitan school district with a substantial Black population initiates affirmative policies to integrate or to end segregation, the White population quickly nullifies the efforts either by fleeing the city proper for the all-white suburbs or by sending children to private schools. Blacks constitute 36.6% of the public school pupils in New York City yet, "more than four-fifths of New York's [City] black pupils attend schools with black enrollments of 50 per cent or more. And nearly half attend schools that are virtually all-black."[14] In 1970, 119,000 Whites attended Houston's public schools, but two years later there were only 98,000--a 25% reduction; the number of minority students increased from 51 to 57 percent/while the White figure dropped from 49 to 43 percent.[15] In December, 1970, Chicago's Board of Education reported that only 40,000 of the city's 270,000 Black pupils attended integrated schools so that 77% of the Black high school students and 90% of the Black elementary school children went to schools with at least a 90% Black enrollment;[16] four years later, in 1974, 86% of the Black students were in schools with 90-100% Black enrollment and 42.8% of the White students were in a school with 90 to 100% Whites.[17] Fifty-five percent of San Diego's schools were segregated according to the state definition in 1966; by 1974, the figure expanded to 61%.[18] In 1970, 55% of Jackson, Mississippi's pupils were White; after the Supreme Court sanctioned busing, there immediately developed a White exodus and a surge in private schools so that during 1972 the White public school majority vanished and the schools became 65% Black while 10,500 Whites attended the 27 virtually all-White private schools in Jackson and the surrounding Hinds County.[19]

A report released by the U.S. Office of Education in September, 1972, shows a substantial expansion for private education throughout the nation. While Catholic schools declined 17%--from 5.4 to 4 million--for the years 1969-1970, the enrollment in private schools increased 66%; the rise was particularly apparent in the South where private, non-church schools mounted by 242%, and church-related protestant schools by 168%.[20] The Federal Office of education claims that the South's enrollment in nonpublic schools went from 580,000 in the fall of 1968 to an estimated 700,000 by the fall of 1972; "Some observers consider that figure low."[21] During the 'sixties, 2.5 million Whites abandoned the central cities for the suburbs as 3.4 million Blacks entered so that the suburbs went from 95% to 96% White while most metropolitan cities were going Black.[22]

To preserve this intense racial separation, the Supreme Court ruled, in 1974, that busing across city and/or county lines for purposes of racial integration in public schools is unconstitutional. Thus, just as the judicial system upheld state legislation that segregated the schools on the basis of race so, too, today the Courts extend legal approval to a dual school system that is already predicated upon the Black-White racial distinction. A United Press International newswire dated December 5, 1973, carried this exact message in stating:

> The United States Court of Appeals for the sixth circuit [located in Cincinnati, Ohio] said yesterday that one-race schools were a fact of life in some cities and refused a request to expand school busing in Memphis, Tenn.
>
> The three-judge panel declined to overthrow an order by United States District Judge Robert McRae Jr. in Memphis, [Tennessee] which has bused about 25,000 students--and left 25 all-black schools--this year.

The judge cited "the necessity of tolerating some one-race schools because minority groups concentrate in urban areas."[23]

This ruling can only mean increasing isolation of Blacks within America's educational system. And this, in turn, can only mean a worsening of educational qualifications for the on-coming Black student generation in terms of White educational expectations for acceptance into American colleges. In Detroit, a city where plans for busing across city school districts will not be tolerated by the Supreme Court, 2/3 of the 1971 enrollment of 300,000 students were Black, and the suburban schools were virtually all White; the massive Detroit school district allocated about $650 per student, while the suburbs spent over $1,000 for each of its students.[24] The combination of racism and economics clearly compels us to conclude, beyond all reasonable doubt, that this nation now endorses an educational system that will not only be divided along racial lines but also will be economically debilitating for Black education. White America will not allow any substantial educational gains for Black people; it is therefore not, as Norval Glenn maintains, the lack of educational achievements preventing Blacks from securing well-paying jobs, but a White determination to prevent Blacks from gaining educational qualifications in appreciable numbers. We can consequently predict a worsening educational situation for Blacks during the 'seventies.

Black Poverty

Key economic indicators also portend serious difficulties for Blacks. In 1949, the difference in Black-White median family income was less than $1,600; by 1964, it was more than $3,000; in 1969, the difference expanded to just over $3,600; in 1972, it stood at $4,585.[25] In 1968, Black income, according to a Bureau of the Census release, was 60% of White; the figure climbed to 61% in 1970, but by 1972 it dropped to 59% and in 1974 it dropped to

56%.[26] If equality is taken as the measure for success, it is clear that a sharp downward trend is, as in the case for education, taking place for Blacks during the 'seventies.

There is, moreover, a resurgence of poverty-stricken households among Black families. The number of poor Blacks increased 600,000 between 1969 and 1972, while White poverty declined 500,000.[27] Although more Whites (17.5 million and 67% of the total) than Blacks (7.7 million and 33% of the total) were in poverty in 1970, only 1 out of 10 Whites were so classified while one out of three Blacks persisted in poverty;[28] although the total poverty figure dropped from 40 million in 1959 to 25.5 million in 1970, the proportion of Blacks among the poor expanded! In 1959, 28% of those among the poor were Black, in 1970 the figure rose to 33%.[29] In 1972, 1.1 million persons pulled out of the poverty category--and all of these were entirely White owing, incidentally, to a 10% increase in social security benefits--one of the most racist welfare programs existing in the nation today![30] However, during the same year, 300,000 Blacks dropped into the poverty ranks.[31]

Housing for Blacks is destined to greater dilapidation and increased density for the 'seventies than was the case for the 'sixties. The need for the entire nation is overwhelming: according to 1968 estimates, the country must build more new housing by the year 2000 than are now in existence in order to sustain prevailing standards; another 65 million unites must be constructed in addition to the present 60 million. Yet, according to Walter Hoadley, executive vice-president of California's Bank of America, "We are facing the worst housing shortage that we have had since the end of World War II. The crisis," he projects, "is going to get worse."[32] Between 1966 and 1969, inflation pushed the cost of new housing up 22% and, as a result, half of all Americans could no longer afford to buy.[33] In 1973, the average cost for a new home stood at

$31,500--and it continues to rise.[34] Moreover, the substantial advances in interest over the last decade more than doubled the 1960 rate for home mortages. The National Association of Home Builders claim that "each one point boost in interest drives 3.4 million families out of the housing market."[35] Still, the economic burdens for homeowners do not cease with either the initial price or interest rates; one other major cost keeps esculating, namely, property taxes. Generally, metropolitan areas of the East and West commonly require most White suburbanites to pay at least $100 per month in property taxes; in the ghetto of Newark, N. J., the Black homeowner will, within 11 years at prevailing rates, pay $20,000 in property taxes for a $20,000 house purchased in the late 1960s. Such economic extravagances in the housing market can only mean a much higher percentage of Blacks will get excluded from home ownership during the 'seventies than during the 'sixties; more overcrowding will surely occur in rented quarters as Black families are compelled to cram into smaller living areas to survive increased rents. The population density for Blacks, unlike Whites, worsened considerably during the 1960s,[36] yet housing will deteriorate still further during the forthcoming decade.

Black Unemployment

Black unemployment rises dramatically throughout the nation. Official statistics show that the Black rate still persists at twice the pace for Whites. Yet, as is now very common knowledge, the formal rates on unemployment are designed explicitly to conceal more than to reveal; changes have been purposefully introduced so as to reduce the basis for computing what would otherwise be higher rates,[37] while part-time employment and dropouts who no longer seek employment get excluded from consideration.[38] Such distortions particularly undercount the full extent of joblessness for the Black minority since Blacks are far more likely to give up job-seeking, and proportionately more are forced

into part-time work than are Whites. Further, what must not be overlooked is that Black unemployment would still be substantially higher were it not for the fact that hundreds of thousands have, at least temporarily, forsaken the job market by entering the universities.

The unreliability of the Federal unemployment computations has become so obvious that the Urban League, under the direction of its able research director, Dr. Robert B. Hill, probed into the "hidden" and "forbidden" territories for so long ignored by the Census Bureau and Department of Labor. This Black organization found that while the official figure on unemployment among the nation's eligible work force stood at 11.1% for Blacks, the "actual" computation showed 23.8%; the report "was based on a survey of 44 cities, comparing statistics with a special survey by the United States Bureau of the Census between August, 1970, and March, 1971."[39] Thus, while government statistics compute Black unemployment at twice the White rate, the Urban League found Blacks were out of jobs at twice the percentage presented by the Government! In 1971, according to the Department of Labor, unemployment in Los Angeles' Watts stood at 16%; in 1965, the year of the Watts uprising, the figure was 13%.[40] Today, in the Black ghettoes of Chicago, it is estimated that upwards of 40% of the Blacks are without jobs;[41] in Buffalo, New York, one estimate puts Black unemployment at 50%;[42] in Newark, N. J., it is estimated to be approximately 30%;[43] and about 40% for Detroit's inner-city Black population.[44] While these estimates may exaggerate somewhat the actual state of unemployment among Blacks, nonetheless, it is accurate to claim, on the conservative side of the ledger, that Black unemployment cannot be less than 25-30%. Newsweek states in its February 19, 1973 issue: "The black unemployment rate runs persistently double the rate for whites, and in the worst-off ghettos it is frozen at Depression levels--18 per cent in Watts,

20 per cent in the Hunters Point slums of San Francisco, 25 per cent in Chicago's Woodlawn district. The ghettos," the account continues, "have grown physically worse with neglect and simple aging--a deterioration everywhere visible..."[45] And the unemployment among Black teenagers is simply astronomical even by the official count of 38%; the figure would still be higher, as already noted, if the 1973 Black college enrollment of 684,000 had not expanded by 41% since 1967,[46] and if it were not for the fact that a disproportionate number of Black youths volunteer for military induction "if only because the military offers jobs for unemployed black youths."[47] The Black percentage within all military branches expanded from 11% in 1970 to 16% in 1974; 27% of all current recruits into the Army are Black, while only 11% of the nation's population between the ages of 17 and 44 are Black.[48]

Unemployment is surely a sufficient plight for any people to endure in a society such as ours where the reward system remains intrinsically attributable to employment; jobs mean the income for purchasing the necessary material goods for a sustaining living standard. Yet, not only are greater numbers of Blacks unemployed, but more are increasingly being rejected from any possibility of procuring work, for unemployment among Blacks is a permanent, not a momentary, condition. The socioeconomic difficulties now besetting Blacks are not only racial but economic as well; the crisis is caused not so much by the transition from slavery to equality as by a change from an economics of exploitation to an economics of uselessness.[49] With the onset of automation the Negro is moving out of his historical state of oppression and into economic obsolescence; increasingly, he is not so much economically exploited as he is irrelevant. The tremendous historical change for the Black person in America, under present circumstances, is taking place in these terms: he is not needed. He is not so much oppressed as unwanted; not so much unwanted as unnecessary; not so much abused as ignored. As automation proceeds, it will be easier and easier to

disregard White dependence upon Black labor to sustain economic production of goods and to provide services for people. That this is increasingly becoming the fate of Black people is revealed even by the Manpower Report of the President as prepared by the U.S. Department of Labor in March, 1972.[50] The nonwhite civilian labor force participation for males 16 years and over stood at 80.1 in 1960, 74.7 in 1970, and 73.7 in 1972; the figures for Whites were 82.6 in 1960, 79.7 in 1970, and 79.6 in 1972.[51] Thus, during the '60s and into the '70s, males of both races were less likely to participate in the labor force--yet the reduction was substantially greater for Blacks than for Whites, a drop of 6.4 percentage points for Blacks and 3.0 percentage points for Whites--a 2-to-1 ratio. Herbert Bienstock, Head of the Department of Labor's regional Bureau of Statistics in New York City, told a New York Times reporter in August, 1974, that the participation rate for nonwhites in the City--where more Blacks reside than in any state of the union--dropped sharply, from 61.1% in 1969 to 54.6% in 1973.[52] "This is a frightening trend," Bienstock exclaimed. "If this 6 per cent change had shown up on the unemployment rate instead of the participation rate, somebody somewhere would have gotten excited about it."[53] The point is, of course, that by not entering the work force Blacks are simply treated as invisible persons by our society; in dropping out of employment altogether, they become totally irrelevant. The extent of this Black invisibility is vividly demonstrated in a matter as relatively simple as taking a population count; for the 1970 census, the Bureau of Census estimates that it overlooked a mere 1.9% of the total White population (3.45 million), yet, at the same time, it failed to count 7.7% of the total Black population (1.88 million)--a Black/White ratio of 4-to-1![54]

Blacks are being compelled out of the labor force as industrialization in the form of mechanization continues to expand in southern agriculture. The last stronghold for Black employment in the South's agriculture economy is the

tobacco field where, in the mid-sixties, 1,000,000 out of the 1 and 1/2 million Black farm workers concentrated. In 1971, however, the mechanical tobacco machine harvested the crop for at least four North Carolina farmers, and it is expected that the "four-legged, four-wheeled contraption of conveyor belts and hydraulic motors that moves down a row of tobacco plants and strips leaves from stalks almost as gently as a human hand would" will soon displace 50,000 farm people just in North Carolina. "The blacks will [most] probably be totally out of North Carolina agriculture by the end of this decade, and certainly by the end of the next decade," Dr. Selz C. Mayo, head of sociology and anthropology at North Carolina State College, anticipates for the future.[55] What is true for North Carolina will not be denied for the entire tobacco production throughout the South.

The uprooting of Black farmers is matched by unemployment within the cities as automation persists at a rapid pace. The automobile plant recently constructed by General Motors in Lordstown, Ohio for the production of Vegas turns out, due to automatic equipment, 40% more automobiles without any increase in employment over the conventional assembly-line mode of production.[56] An automated bakery produces bread without the touch of a human hand on any ingredient until the bread emerges from the oven; "one plant run by one man could supply the needs of all Southern California."[57] In 1965, just prior to the introduction of automatic equipment, the steel industry employed 584,000 workers to turn out 131 million tons of steel; six years later, following the initial phase into automation, the work force dropped to 520,000--a loss of 65,000--in producing the same 131 million tons.[58] Daniel Mason, writing in the November, 1971 issue of Political Affairs, estimates that "2 million jobs are eliminated every year as the result of automation and cybernation."[59] With labor costs rising approximately 6% per year, American businesses increasingly resort to automated robots inasmuch as "Replacing one [human] operator on two

shifts results in a [profit] return of 56%";[60] although a most recent development, nonetheless, already 14% of America's 500 largest manufacturers use industrial robots simply because robotic equipment "can perform work of uniform superior quality in greater volume than can be done by a human operator, and it can pay for itself handsomely in a remarkably short period of time."[61] Is there any wonder, then, that capitalists now intensify their insistence upon birth control just at the point in time when robots make humans worthless in the act of production?

Black Health

Health is another area of deterioration for Black people. The infant mortality rates reveal that "the ratio of the nonwhite to the white was higher in 1968 than in 1940."[62] Further, "the infant death rate for white children dropped from 18.8 per 1000 in 1969 to 18.0 [in 1970]..., while the death rate for non-white children increased from 32.3 to 32.5."[63] Blacks are more likely to die during infancy upon approaching the 1970s than 30 years earlier! Demographers commonly consider the infant mortality rate reflects a country's living conditions and, therefore, according to this interpretation, the living standard for Black people must be taking a downward thrust. Moreover, the Black death rate from job injuries was 25% higher than for Whites in 1950, but, by 1969, it climbed to 43% greater than for Whites--almost doubling during the 20-year time span.[64] Death due to cancer was no greater by race in 1950, but in 1969 the Black rate was 25% higher than for Whites;[65] in 1974, 50% more Black men, in contrast to 16% for White males, died from cancer than during the 1950s; the mortality from cancer with respect to all women was less likely by 1974 relative to the '50s, yet the reduction of 3% for Black females was only one-third of the 9% drop for White women.[66] These setbacks in health appear as residential areas turn from White to Black; in Chicago's

Kenwood-Oakland areas, for example, the 1930 White neighborhood boasted of one physician for every 260 residents, but in 1970, having converted into a Black ghetto, the same neighborhood claimed only one doctor for every 9,000 residents. A 55-block area in the Bronx of New York City had, when it was White, 25 doctors so that there was a physician for every 700 people; in 1974, the same blocks were Black and only four doctors were residents, a ratio of one for every 10,000.[67] In 1971, there were only 5,800 to 6,000 Black doctors throughout the nation, just 2% of all physicians.[68]

This composite summary of the Black living standard displaying decisive handicaps and an overall worsening condition takes place in what is otherwise a prospering American economy. Newsweek proclaimed, in its November 4, 1974 issue, that "For months, the U. S. economy has been sinking deeper into a recession, but corporate profits, paradoxically [sic], have gone higher and higher. Last week, as third-quarter reports poured in, it was all but certain that earnings during the period had established another record [high]" for American corporations.[69] The corporations get wealthier while the poor people, particularly Blacks, plunge into utter destitution. That is, corporate capitalism is not in a paradoxical moment; it is in its full glory any time profits reach new levels. Profit-taking, not life-giving subsistence, is the name of the game in American society. The policies of the corporate enterprise and, similarly, of the Federal Government, are intent upon sustaining a healthy dollar even if it results in sick people; the standard of the dollar will be preserved even at the expense of living standards for the people.

White on Black: Repression and Retaliation

The Republican administration which assumed control during the 1970s, as so cogently analyzed by Arthur I. Blaustein and Geoffrey Faux in The Star-Spangled Hustle,[70] not only ignored but retaliated against Blacks in formulating its

socioeconomic policies toward minorities. Governmentally speaking, more Blacks have indeed been elected to political office, yet not only is the percentage insignificant, amounting to a mere one-half of one percent in 1973,[71] but also theactual power of government remains, and increasingly becomes, repressive. Key events capture the essence of government retaliation against an ever-increasing impoverished Black people:

> #Although the Supreme Court set aside the death penalty applied arbitrarily and capriciously, revamped state laws have, nonetheless, resulted in a current death-row population of 140, 60% of whom are Black. "They are," in the editorial words of the Nation, "predominantly the type whom judges and juries tend to regard as social outcasts and irredeemable burdens on society."[72] The police rate of homicide against Black remains nine times as great as for White.[73] Although admittedly impressionistic it is, nevertheless, my considerate judgment that police brutality, particularly in the East and West and including killings, beatings, false arrests, harrassment, and other forms of extra-legal punishments, is greater today than any time since 1940.[74] Law-enforcement officers are becoming so impatient that the people of Darby Township, near Philadelphia, were informed by their Police Chief, William Johnson, of having directed patrolmen "to try to kill suspects caught in the act of a felony";[75] the Police Chief has thereby designated himself "Chief Executioneer," and has converted his force into a lynch patrol. Today, police arrest of Blacks is so great that 90% of all Black males will be arrested at least once in their lifetime, and an arrest record makes job-hunting all the more difficult![76]
>
> #The eleven documents the NBC news reporter, Carl Stern, secured through court proceedings in December, 1973 reveal the extensive plans drawn, and thereafter implemented, by the FBI during the 'sixties in a concerted effort to bring about the "disruption, exposure and neutralization" of

"new left and Black nationalist groups."[77] This material also conveys the tactical plans for close cooperation among the Oakland and San Francisco police departments with the FBI in order to exterminate the Black Panther Party. "From May 2, 1967, to September 28, 1968--the date of Huey Newton's trial--there were 55 cases against members of the Black Panther Party--from September 28, 1968, to December 8, 1969, we find that there were 373 cases against the Panthers."[78] One explicit objective in the memorandum called upon the FBI to "Prevent the rise of a black messiah who could unify and electrify the militant black nationalist movement."[79] This directive is so forceful that Black leaders have demanded, and with reasonable cause, that the FBI itself be investigated as a potential collaborator in the deaths of Martin Luther King Malcolm X, and Fred Hampton;[80] needless to say, the call has gone unheeded.

That racial lines are being drawn more tightly is shown in the interpretation offered by Samuel Lubell, a well-known public opinion analyst, of the 1972 presidential election:

> First, the voting returns reveal that the President's [i.e., former President Richard Nixon] strongest gains over 1968 erupted in areas of the most intense racial polarization--through the whole South and in such big city Democratic strongholds as Cleveland, Chicago, New York and Philadelphia.
>
> This suggests that any Democratic effort to reassert a new drive for government-sponsored black advances could invite defeat....
>
> Southerners when interviewed now feel: "The Republicans have become the white man's party."[81]

Thus, if the Republican Party is now a "white" organization and the Democrats cannot court the Black vote without incurring defeat, where

does this leave Blacks--but out and, in the event of open defiance, faced with the prospects, like the Black Panther Party, of destruction. "It is ridiculous to pretend that the great issue before the American people is busing," the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism emphatically states in a report released in March, 1972. "The true issue is whether, as a nation, we shall progress to one society, open and free, or regress to an apartheid society, separate and unequal, doomed to a racial violence and repression."[82] "The cities, [Richard] Scammon [a former Census Bureau chief] speculates, could then come increasingly to resemble urban models of the old Indian reservations, kept alive by the state, but ruled by a kind of internal jungle law. The surrounding middle-class suburbs would be heavily guarded..., the chief function of the guards being to protect the middle-class majority in the suburbs from marauding bands from the cities."[83]

What took place in the Attica Correctional Facility, Attica, New York, is the most telling event of what is taking place.[84] The Attica uprising by inmates on September 13, 1971 merely duplicates the domestic lesson America intends to impose. What commentators somehow overlook in regard to what happened on that fateful day is that there emerged another instance of a race war upon American soil, another step among many toward the final solution. Supposedly Attica is a place for saving people, a penal institution dedicated to "rehabilitation" of the "criminal elements" in our society. Yet, 73% of the inmates in the rebellious D Yard were nonwhite; no Black person ordered the military assault and there were no Blacks among the 600 state troopers who chanted "white power, white power" when surging into the yard.[85] The insurrection, therefore, represents not an uprising within a penal institution but a racist massacre. In the words of I. F. Stone, "...the State troopers went in

with murder in their hearts, like a lynch mob in the South 'to get them niggers.' The lies about the hostages having their throats cut and the sexual atrocities..., the readiness of the country to believe these lies, the accident of a brave and honorable coroner who refuted them--all this makes the blacks feel how easily mob action could be whipped up against the ghettoes on the basis of just such atrocity propaganda."[86] The intensity of hate toward Blacks is so strong that White troopers willingly paid the price of killing not only scores of unarmed and trapped Blacks, but ten of their very own! "Every hostage who died on Sept. 13, 1971, was killed by state police guns....We now know thanks to the McKay Commission hearings that between fourteen and seventeen corrections officers, without permission, fired into the yard of D. Block with their own hunting guns, and that they killed two inmates. We now know that the state police were firing dumdum bullets, ...outlawed under international law and the Geneva Convention [among nations at war]. We now know that 450 rounds of ammunition were fired into the yard in that 'efficient' action, hitting one out of every ten inmates. We now know the inmates had no guns and fired no bullets. We now know...that the first warning to the inmates to surrender came after four minutes and twenty seconds of heavy shooting [by the troopers]."[87] And we now know that when an inmate sought treatment from the prison's physician, Dr. Williams, to obtain relief from severe chest pains well after the uprising, he was refused medication and the doctor told him, "You should have died in the yard, nigger."[88] As with American genocide in Vietnam, it was necessary, within the confines of Attica, to kill anyone in the administration of the ultimate solution.

The similarity between White hostility upon Blacks at Attica and atrocity in Vietnam did not go unnoticed before New York State's official

McKay Commission investigation; Dr. John Cudmore, a surgeon and major in the National Guard on duty during the assault, testified that "he saw inmates shoved and beaten by guards as they were herded into a yard and forced to crawl. He reported...[inmates] were 'struck with blows to the elbows and genitalis.'"[89] Dr. Cudmore concluded, "That day tore from those guards the shreds of their humanity. For the first time I understood what had happened at Mylai."[90] But how many more Mylais and how many more Atticas must this country endure before all of us will awaken "for the first time" and understand that the same genocidal fate is besetting Black people in America and before our very eyes? For the White massacre of yesterday's Red people looms over Black people today. The McKay Report points out that "With the exception of Indian massacres in the late 19th century, the State Police assault which ended the four-day prison uprising was the bloodiest one-day encounter between Americans since the Civil War."[91] Indeed, "Governor [Nelson Rockefeller] and his Corrections Commissioner, Russell G. Oswald, were much more concerned to crush 'revolution' than to preserve the lives of the hostages or inmates. Once Governor Rockefeller and his subordinates decided that the rebellion was no longer tolerable, the [McKay] Commission concludes, 'the lives of the hostages were expendable.'"[92]

I would prefer to judge the Attica slaughter as an act of liquidation comparable to the extermination of Jews in Hitler's concentration camps. For, in truth, we quickly duplicate the inhumanity of Nazi Germany as we move decisively into a fascist state in this country. We have now accomplished in America what the policy of apartheid in white-supremacy Union of South Africa requires--the open-target firing by White troops upon an unarmed crowd of Blacks in the 1960 Sharpville massacre that resulted in 69 deaths and another 180 wounded. "America," Tom Hayden

observes, "is nearly bankrupt in its ability to find social, economic or political answers to racism. The 'solutions' being prepared are increasingly military ones."[93]

Increasingly, the Government endeavors to transform the economically disposable and restless Black into a listless and irrelevant Black by resorting to the equivalent of the "Indian handout"--and thereby confirming further the Indian analogy for interpreting Black-White relations. In 1969, 17% of Black families received some form of public assistance, yet just two years later, in 1971, one-quarter of all Black families were accepting such aid.[94]

White on Black: Extermination

In light of the above survey and analysis, I believe it is reasonable to perceive increased destitution, oppression, and racial isolation of Blacks upon the ghetto-reservation. This can only mean that today's Black is destined to experience the Indian fate. In late 1974, the City Council in Hartford, Connecticut initiated a debate concerning the erection of a fence around the city's ghetto to confine the Black and Puerto Rican people in order to prepare for a discontent that might, in the near future, assume the form of open rebellion; in the face of insurrection by the nonwhites, White people, businesses, and homes could be preserved from harm by keeping the threatening racial minorities bottled up within the ghetto.[95]

George Wald, Professor of Biology at Harvard and winner of the Nobel Prize in Physiology of Medicine for 1967, stated in his address at the 20th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in Tokyo on August 2, 1974:

> The work that used to be done by human and animal muscle is increasingly done by machines....With the increasing mechanization,

> increasing numbers of persons have become not only unemployed but superfluous. There is no use for them in the free-market economy. They are wanted neither as workers nor customers. They are not wanted at all. Their existence is a burden, an embarrassment....
>
> In his report to the World Bank in September, 1970, [Wald continues] its president, Robert McNamara, former Ford [Motor Company] executive and Secretary of Defense, spoke of such persons as "marginal men." He estimated that in 1970 there were 500 million of them--twice the population of the United States--that by 1980 there would be one billion, and by 1990, two billion. That would be half the world population.[96]

And Professor Samuel Yette of Howard University contends:

> Black Americans have outlived their usefulness...Once an economic asset, they are now considered an economic drag. The wood is all hewn, the water all drawn, the cotton all picked, and the rails reach from coast to coast. The ditches are dug, the dishes are put away, and only a few shoes remain to be shined.
>
> Thanks to old black backs and newfangled machines, the sweat chores of the nation are done. Now the some 25 million Blacks face a society that is brutally pragmatic, technologically accomplished, deeply racist, increasingly overcrowded, and surly.[97]

~~Finally,~~ H. Rap Brown asserts in his, Die Nigger Die, "There is no more work. Machines do the jobs...";[98] he charges that "This country [of the U.S. of America] is waging a genocidal war against people of color..."[99] Finally, Orlando Patterson maintains that "the entire black population of the Americas [i.e., U.S and West Indies] is growing alike in its urban poverty, its 'lumpenization,' and its ghetto environment...we must conclude that the fate of the blacks in the Americas is, indeed, bleak. The chances of their disappearance are not remote." Patterson perceives the options in these terms:

"The dismal alternatives confronting them seem to be quick, violent death brought about by a suicidal attempt at revolt, or a prolonged death through redundancy and attrition."[100]

It is therefore becoming more widely acknowledged that America is a nation of White people marking time for a Black people. In all likelihood the economic strains will become sufficiently severe to jeopardize the political stability of the nation and thereby invite the autocracy of fascism. Fascism needs a flourishing racism upon which to construct a scapegoat for the exercise of absolute rule; the execrable Black minority, a most powerless people within American society, will surely become the victim.

Footnotes

1. For a survey of the view, see my Who Needs the Negro?, Garden City: New York, 1971, Ch. V.
2. Lewis M. Killian, "Optimism and Pessimism in Sociological Analysis," The American Sociologist, Vol. 6, November, 1971, p. 284.
3. For further elaboration see my, "Equality: America's Racist Ideology," in Radical Sociology, David J. Colfax and Jack L. Roach, eds., New York: Basic Books, 1971, pp. 246-262. For a critique of the views that place responsibility upon Blacks, see William Ryan, Blaming the Victim, New York: Vintage, 1971; Charles A. Valentine, Culture and Poverty, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968; and Charles A. Valentine, "Deficit, Difference, and Bicultural Models," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 42, May, 1971, pp. 137-157. Furthermore, a sampling drawn from research reports indexed in Psychological Abstracts covering the first six months of 1970 found that 82% of the research undertaken by psychologists concluded with an analysis that faulted Blacks by "interpreting the difficulties of black Americans in terms of personal shortcoming" assigned to Blacks alone. See Nathan Caplan and Stephen D. Nelson, "Who's to Blame?," Psychology Today, Vol. 8, November, 1974, pp. 101-102.
4. Norval D. Glenn, "Recent Changes in the Social and Economic Conditions of Black Americans," in Social Stratification: A Reader, Joseph Lopreato and Lionel S. Lewis, eds., New York: Harper & Row, 1974, pp. 447-448.
5. Fred M. Hechinger, "Education" column, New York Times, October 17, 1971.
6. United Press International newswire, Buffalo Evening News, March 18, 1971.
7. Associated Press newswire, "Educators Criticize Group's Proposal to Double College Tuition Rates," Buffalo Evening News, October 1, 1973, p. 7.
8. National Commission on the Financing of Post-Secondary Education as cited by Robert Nielsen, "Tuition and Enrollment in Higher Education," American Teacher, Vol. 59, September, 1974, p. 30.

9. See Glenn, op. cit., Table 4, p. 453.

10. Cited by Charles S. Benson, "Why the Schools Flunk Out," The Nation, Vol. 205, April 10, 1967, p. 436.

11. New York Times, May 4, 1974, p. 24.

12. Roy Reed and Paul Delaney, "Year of Desegregation a Trying One in South," New York Times, April 18, 1971, p. 1.

13. William E. Farrell, "School Integration Fight Hardens in Shift North," New York Times, May 13, 1974, p. 24.

14. Ibid.

15. Martin Waldron, "White Pupils' Rolls Drop as Families Flee the Cities," New York Times, November 26, 1972, p. 74.

16. Seth S. King, "Integration Lag Noted in Chicago," New York Times, December 13, 1970.

17. "Tight Money Is Said to Keep Whites in Chicago's Schools," New York Times, December 1, 1974, p. 28.

18. Iver Peterson, "Violence and Job Issues Plague Schools," New York Times, October 14, 1974, p. 1.

19. John Egerton, "Report Card on Southern School Desgregation," Saturday Review, Vol. 55, April 1, 1972, pp. 41-42+.

20. United Press International newswire, Buffalo Evening News, September 3, 1972, p. 3.

21. Evan Jenkins, "School Conflict in South Is Intensifying As Academics Challenge Public System," New York Times, August 9, 1973, p. 1+.

22. "Black America Now," Newsweek, February 19, 1973, p. 33.

23. United Press International newswire, "One-Race Schools Called Fact of Life in Some Cities," New York Times, December 6, 1973, p. 24.

24. New York Times, October 3, 1971.

25. In 1949, White median family income was $3,000, Black $1,650; in 1964, the White figure was $6,858, Black $3,724; for 1969, White was $9,794, Black, $6,191; and in 1972, Whites claimed $11,549, Blacks $6,864. Source for all figures, except for 1949, is the New York Times, July 23, 1973, p. 1. The U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 279, "Population Profile of the United States," U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1975, p. 26, reports a 1973 median family income for White of $13,028, and $7,269 for Blacks; the income gap amounted to $5,759 whereas in 1970, according to this same Reports computation, the gap amounted to $5,084 in 1970 when White family median income amounted to $12,269 and Blacks had $7,185. Note from these same figures that from 1970 to 1973 the White median family income increased by $759 while for the Blacks the amount was a mere $84--a 9-to-1 ratio! The Report also states that Black income was 58% of the White median family income.

26. New York Times, July 23, 1973, p. 1.

27. Robert B. Hill, "Benign Neglect Revisited: The Illusion of Black Progress," National Urban League, Washington, D. C., July 24, 1973, Table 3.

28. Jack Rosenthal, "Poor in Nation Rise by 5%, Reversing 10-Year Trend," New York Times, May 8, 1973, p. 1.

29. Ibid.

30. This categorization is made because social security was initially, in 1937, designed to exclude jobs where Blacks were concentrated and benefits are based upon longevity of membership in the program; Blacks, proportionately speaking, stand little to gain, therefore, under social security and little effort is made to compensate for this bias. This explains why social security benefits have been increased to overcome, during the mid-1970s, inflation while the welfare programs, where the Black percentage is so

high, have not been changed to absorb the rapid increases in the costs of living. See Clayton Thomas, "Inflation Is Cruel to the Already Poor," New York Times, December 1, 1974, p. 6E.

31. Bill Kovach, "Million People in U. S. Escaped From the Ranks of Poor in 1972," New York Times, July 5, 1973, p. 35.

32. Time, October 31, 1969, p. 84.

33. Associated Press newswire, Buffalo Evening News, September 24, 1969.

34. "Intelligence Report," Parade, September 30, 1973, p. 9.

35. Ibid.

36. See my, Who Needs the Negro?, ~~Garden City, New York, Doubleday~~ op. cit., p. 111.

37. See Harry Brill, "Unemployment: Official & Real," The Nation, Vol. 212, January 23, 1971, p. 100 and John C. Leggett and Claudette Cervinks, "Countdown: How to Lie with Statistics," in Social Problems in American Society, James M. Henslin and Larry T. Reynolds, eds., Boston: Holbrook Press, 1973, pp. 234-262.

38. The unemployment figures released in December, 1974 show Whites with an unemployment of 5.8%, Blacks at 11.7%; simultaneously, an additional 300,000 people simply gave up, just during the month of November, 1974, looking for work and thus are not computed as unemployed. See Roland Powell, "Unemployment Rate Rises to 6.5%," Buffalo Evening News, December 6, 1974, p. 1.

39. Rudy Johnson, "U. S. is Criticized on Black Jobless," New York Times, September 2, 1972.

40. Curtis J. Sitomer, "It's Grim in Watts, But There's Pride, Maybe Progress," Buffalo Evening News, February 23, 1972, p. 34.

41. Reported on NBC Nightly News, October, 1974.

42. Buffalo Courier-Express, November 8, 1974.

43. Ben Bedell, "Behind the Rebellion in Newark," Guardian, September 18, 1974, p. 3.

44. "Murder on the Rise in Detroit," Guardian, July 10, 1974, p. 5.

45. Newsweek, February 19, 1973, p. 31.

46. U. S. Census Bureau annual report for 1973 as carried by the Associated Press newswire, Buffalo Evening News, July 24, 1974, p. 13.

47. John W. Finney, "Very Soon Now the Army Will be R. A., All The Way," New York Times, November 3, 1974, p. E 3.

48. Ibid.

49. For a fuller analysis of this point, see Sidney M. Willhelm and Elwin H. Powell, "Who Needs the Negro?," Trans-Action, Vol. 1, September-October 1964, pp. 3-6; and my book, Who Needs the Negro?, op. cit., especially Chapters VI and VII.

50. U. S. Department of Labor, Manpower Report of the President, March 1972, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, Table E-4.

51. Ibid.

52. As reported by Soma Colden, "Recession Is Not a Threat, It's a Fact in New York City," New York Times, September 1, 1974, p. 5.

53. Ibid.

54. Bill Kovach, "Census Says It Overlooked 5,300,000," New York Times, April 26, 1973, pp. 1+.

55. William K. Stevens, "Tobacco Farming Enters Machine Age," New York Times, October 4, 1971, pp. 1+.

56. James Wargo, "Car Sales Soar, but Increase in Related Jobs Is Myth," Monitor News Service, Buffalo Evening News, September 20, 1972; see also, Leo Fenster, "Small Car Imports: Detroit Goes Multinational," The Nation, Vol. 216, March 12, 1973, p. 327. Two-thirds of the working force at

Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue assembly-line plant in Detroit are Black, yet "Many who work at the Jefferson plant say its closing would mean the removal of their jobs from Detroit to some other part of the country. They fear that, when the auto market rebounds, the Imperials, New Yorkers and Newports that they had been building will be produced in newer [i.e., automated] plants elsewhere...out of the state." Under pressing economic circumstances, outmoded plants in the automobile industry will increasingly close, or, at best, re-open with increased automated ~~technology~~ technology; this means that the industry will be abandoning the inner city where Blacks live for a suburban location near a White population. Thus, the Black employment gains of recent times in the automobile industry could well evaporate in light of modernization and the re-location to White territory. See William K. Stevens, "Threat Of Plant Closing Stirs Worry and Protest in Detroit," New York Times, November 10, 1974, p. 69.

57. Change, Vol. I, October 1965, p. 1.

58. Jerry M. Flint, "Big Industries Not Likely to Cut Down Jobless," New York Times, January 30, 1972, pp. 1+.

59. Daniel Mason, "The Problem of Unemployment," Political Affairs, Vol. 50, November, 1971, p. 35.

60. Report on the Robot Revolution, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972, p. 8.

61. Ibid., p. 3.

62. Glenn, op. cit., p. 455.

63. United Press newswire, Buffalo Evening News, March 24, 1971; emp. sup.

64. Steven Miller, "Death in the Factory, Byproduct of Capital," Guardian, September 25, 1974, p. 6.

65. Ibid.

66. United Press International newswire, "22,000 to Conquer Cancer, Report Notes," Buffalo Evening News, November 11, 1974, p. 6.

67. Testimony presented by Dr. Harold B. Wise in Costs and Delivery of Health Services to Older Americans, Hearings before the Special Committee on Aging of the United States Senate, Part II, October, 1967, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968, p. 416.

68. C. Gerald Fraser, "Negroes to Offer Own Health Plan," New York Times, August 15, 1971.

69. "Profits: The Best Ever," Newsweek, November 4, 1974, p. 80.

70. Arthur I. Blaustein and Geoffrey Faux, The Star-Spangled Hustle: The Story of a Nixon Promise, Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1973.

71. "Black Americans Now," Newsweek, op. cit., p. 34.

72. "The Death Penalty's Comeback," The Nation, Vol. 219, November 9, 1974, p. 453.

73. Paul Takagi, "A Garrison State in 'Democratic' Society," Crime and Social Justice, Vol. 1, Spring-Summer, 1974, p. 29.

74. I express this estimate on the basis of rather extensive readings drawn from a wide range of sources that report actual instances; unfortunately, I know of no explicit report which would contain this kind of information.

75. "Policemen Are Ordered To Kill Felony Suspects," New York Times, October 23, 1974, p. 27.

76. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: Science and Technology, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967, pp. 223-224.

77. Benjamin Bedell, "FBI Data Reveals Anti-Black Repression," Guardian, April 24, 1974, p. 5; for a more complete coverage see Baxter Smith, "FBI Memos Detail Government Plot to Crush Black Movement," The Militant, March 22, 1974. For the charge that key Black leaders have indeed been

assassinated by a conspiracy, see Louis E. Lomax, To Kill A Black Man, Los Angeles: Holloway Publishing Co., 1968.

78. Jean Genet, "Here and Now for Bobby Seal," Ramparts, Vol. 8, June, 1970, p. 39.

79. Bedell, op. cit., p. 5.

80. Ibid.

81. Samuel Lubell, "Nixon Landslide Indicates Strong Public Support on Blacks, Defense, Peace with Honor," Buffalo Evening News, November 15, 1972, p. 14.

82. Buffalo Courier-Express, March 19, 1972

83. Quoted by Stewart Alsop, "'The Cities Are Finished,'" Newsweek, April 5, 1971, p. 100.

84. For accounts on the Attica uprising see: New York State Special Commission on Attica [commonly referred to, as in this essay, as the "McKay Report"], Attica, New York: Praeger, 1972; Russell G. Oswald, Attica--My Story, Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1972; and Herman Badillo and Milton Haynes, A Bill of No Rights: Attica and the American Prison System, New York: Outerbridge & Lazard, 1972.

85. Jack Newfield, "An Anniversary for Attica," New York Times, September 12, 1972, p. 43.

86. I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly, October 4, 1971, p. 2.

87. Newfield, op. cit., p. 43.

88. Ibid.

89. Quoted by Michael T. Kaulman, "Doctor Testifies on Attica Abuses," New York Times, April 28, 1972, pp. 1+; emp. sup.

90. Ibid.

91. New York State Special Commission on Attica, op. cit., p. xi.

92. Bryce Nelson, Book review, New York Times Book Review, December 17, 1972, p. 1.

93. Tom Hayden, "Colonialism and Liberation as American Problems," in Politics and the Ghettos, Roland L. Warren, ed., New York: Atherton Press, 1969, p. 170.

94. Delaney, op. cit., p. 17.

95. Guardian, November 6, 1974, p. 2.

96. George Wald, "'It Is Too Late for Declarations, for Popular Appeals,'" New York Times, August 17, 1974, p. 23.

97. Samuel Yette, The Choice: The Issue of Black Survival in America, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1971, p. 18.

98. H. Rap Brown, Die Nigger Die, New York: Dial Press, 1969, p. 139.

99. Ibid., p. 138.

100. Orlando Patterson, "Toward a Future That Has No Past--Reflections on the Fate of Blacks in the Americas," The Public Interest, Vol. __ Spring, 1972, p. 62. For a more extensive documentation that sustains this identical conclusion, see my Who Needs the Negro?, op. cit., especially Chapter VIII.